

*Romanesque: Saints, Shrines and Pilgrimage*, Conference of the British Archaeological Association, John Mc Neill and Richard Plant (ed.), Oxford (4th-6th April 2016), forthcoming.

## **FOR A RE-*PRAESENTATIO* OF ROYAL AND HOLY BODIES: THE MONUMENTAL TOMBS OF VIENNE (ISÈRE) IN THEIR LITURGICAL SETTINGS**

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*A Holy Sepulchre was constructed in the narthex of the Carolingian cathedral of St Maurice at Vienne. The cathedral was then partially reconstructed between 1140 and 1170, during which time this imitation of the tomb of Christ was not only preserved but became the centerpiece of a new iconographic programme. Subsequently, in the second quarter of the 13th century, Archbishop Jean de Bernin extended the cathedral and constructed a suite of lateral chapels. Bernin's cathedral extension, along with the construction of buildings for the canons on the north side of the cathedral, necessitated the destruction of three former chapels and the disruption of a cemetery which housed several tombs of kings and queens of Burgundy, including that of Boson. In homage to their memory, the chapels were reconstructed east of the new cloister and the tombs of two queens of Burgundy were moved. Thus, the reorganization respected the original disposition of tombs and spaces within the cathedral precinct. The coherence of an iconographic programme established in the 12th century was preserved while a more elaborate 'scenography' was developed.*

In its present state, the cathedral of St Maurice at Vienne is the result of three principal construction campaigns between the 1120s and the first quarter of the 16th century. The following study will focus on the cathedral as it appeared in the middle of the 13th century.<sup>1</sup> This situation was the result of an extension and reorganization of the 12th-century ecclesiastical space orchestrated by Jean de Bernin, archbishop of Vienne from 1218 to 1265. The study of the architecture and décor of the cathedral, consecrated in 1251, demonstrates that Jean de Bernin intended to magnify the splendor of its earlier ceremonies as organized around preexisting liturgical centres.

## THE CATHEDRAL OF VIENNE: CONSTRUCTION STAGES

As the result of its early christianisation, Vienne became an episcopal see by the end of the 3rd century. Between the 4th and the 5th centuries, the episcopal complex included a cathedral dedicated to the Maccabees, a baptistery dedicated to St John and a church under the name of the Virgin Mary. In 720, the acquisition of relics of St Maurice and the soldiers of the Theban legion by Bishop Eoalde induced a change in the dedication of the cathedral church, which from then on tended to be referred to as under patronage of Maurice. According to the chronicle written by Bishop Ado of Vienne in 870, the relics bought by Eoalde were deposited in a ‘small vaulted building’ (*domunculam cryptatim*). The obit of Bishop Burchard (c. 1030), who ordered its renovation, indicates that the *domuncula* was placed ‘*in paradiso*’ (Fig. 1 (a)), probably close to the northern entrance of the cathedral.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the mid-13th-century *Ordinary* of the cathedral describes this entrance as the ‘*porta paradisi*’.<sup>3</sup>

In the time of Bishop Volfère (c. 797-801),<sup>4</sup> or of Bishop Ado (860-875),<sup>5</sup> a westwork dedicated to the Saviour was erected at the cathedral, and, at some time after 871, a small construction imitating the tomb of Christ in Jerusalem (Holy Sepulchre) was built there by Bishop Ado. This was renovated twice in the course of the 13th century.<sup>6</sup> First by William de Cuvier before 1215, then by Jean de Bernin some years later.<sup>7</sup> In its primitive state, the ‘small house’ (*domuncula*) of the Holy Sepulchre was closed by a door, in front of which was placed a ‘concave’ stone altar, dedicated to Mary Magdalen (the Sinner), to Saint Peter the Denier, and to the Good Thief.<sup>8</sup> According to the Vienne *Ordinary*, composed around 1240 at the initiative of Jean de Bernin, there were many altars associated with the Holy Sepulchre which were placed inside the *domuncula*.<sup>9</sup> When the pavement of the church was replaced in 1525, the Holy Sepulchre was moved to the middle of the small cloister, or ‘*petit-cloître*’, before being destroyed in 1804. In order to respect the original display, the relics were deposited in a ‘cave’ beneath the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>10</sup> A late-18th-century print shows its facade decorated with large statues placed under a poly-lobed arch and a gabled roof. This décor was the result of the 13th-century transformations.

When the Holy Sepulchre was moved into the cloister, the builders were careful to indicate its location (Fig. 1 (I)). The inscription *Hic erat capella Sancti Sepulcri* is still visible on the pavement in the seventh bay of the nave from the east. The 1953 excavations revealed traces of a three-step staircase leading to a half-buried space. On its western side, the Holy Sepulchre almost abutted a wall – the facade of the Carolingian narthex.<sup>11</sup> Partially restored in the 11th century by Archbishop Léger, the Carolingian cathedral was rebuilt as early as the second quarter of the 12th

century. These transformations were aimed at amplifying and unifying the ecclesiastical space. The nave was augmented by the breadth of a side aisle, the wall separating the nave from the westwork was torn down, while its western wall was used as a facade for the new church.<sup>12</sup> The 12th-century project does not seem to have included the construction of additional bays for the Romanesque architecture ends exactly at the level of the Carolingian facade.

The addition of four new bays is the work of John de Bernin, who also built side chapels between the buttresses of the Romanesque nave. The foundation of these lateral chapels, an important source of income, served to fund the large community of canons, who numbered over 200 in the 13th century.<sup>13</sup> The project was only completed only in the early 14th century, with the construction of the three façade portals.

Such as it was planned in the 12th century, the cathedral integrated the *domuncula* of the Holy Sepulchre in a redefined space. Despite its reorientation towards the north and despite the fact that, adjacent to the western wall, it must have constituted an obstacle to the building's entrance, it was retained in its original location. With the 13th-century rearrangement, the circulatory problem was resolved by the addition of extra bays. The Holy Sepulchre, rebuilt and embellished with a rich décor, was from that time onwards better integrated into the ecclesiastical space. From the beginning it acted as a liturgical focus and remained so. Analysis of the Romanesque sculpture, as well as the 13th-century Vienne Ordinary, will confirm this.

## **THE HOLY SEPULCHRE: DÉCOR AND LITURGY**

The sixty 12th-century capitals that survive at Vienne cathedral are the work of at least three teams of sculptors.<sup>14</sup> Out of these sixty, twenty-five are figurative of which eighteen are historiated. Seven scenes were taken from the Old Testament and ten from the New Testament. Art historians have tried with limited success to explain their distribution – though there is a strong argument regard the capitals arranged around the Holy Sepulchre as a separate and distinct ensemble. Ricki Weinberger and Caroline Berne, following Pierre Héliot's initial observations, have pointed out that the decision to locate the capitals which treat the last episodes of the Life of Christ and his Resurrection on the seventh pier of the north nave arcade was determined by the presence of the Holy Sepulchre. Here one can see Christ's Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 1 (24) and Fig. 2), the Last Supper and *Mandatum* (Fig. 1 (25)), as well as the visit of the Three Maries to the Tomb (Fig. 1 (26)). The Ascension appears on the eighth pier of the north arcade (Fig. 1 (28)). The Vienne Ordinary indicates that the Holy Sepulchre served as a backdrop for the relevant liturgical ceremonies.<sup>15</sup>

During the year, at least two masses were celebrated at the Holy Sepulchre: at Lauds on the feast of Mary Magdalen,<sup>16</sup> and at Matins on Easter Day.<sup>17</sup> During the Easter festivities, processions were organised around the Holy Sepulchre. On Easter Day, at Matins, the archbishop recited the *confiteor* in front of the Holy Sepulchre. He would then enter the Tomb, say a prayer and kiss the walls and altars. On leaving the Holy Sepulchre he returned to the choir with some of the cantors and acclaimed *Resurrexit Dominus (in medio choro)* and a cantor would reply *Et apparuit Petro*.<sup>18</sup> At high mass on the same day, the archbishop processed from the choir to the Sepulchre accompanied by some of the clergy, where a dialogue between the Angel and the Holy Women - the *quem quaeritis* – took place in front of the entrance to the *domuncula*.<sup>19</sup> On Ascension day, again at Matins, the canons carried the relics of the martyrs Julian and Ferreol in procession, as well as the head of Saint Maurice, preceded by the archbishop. After a station in front of the north porch, ‘of paradise’, the procession continued towards the centre of the church, then to the Sepulchre. There then took place the dialogue of the Angel and the Apostles. To the *Quem creditis* sung by two cantors, their backs to the Sepulchre, two or three canons would reply ‘*Xristum qui surrexit*’, then ‘*Jam ascendit*’. The canons said *Alleluia* and then regained the choir where the ceremony continued.<sup>20</sup> As noted by Caroline Berne, the wording of the Easter tropes in use in Vienne during the 13th century is characteristic of the 10th century. Thus, the Easter liturgy devised by John de Bernin faithfully perpetuated the practices in use in the Carolingian narthex when it dedicated to Christ.<sup>21</sup>

Caroline Berne is the only art historian thus far to argue that the Romanesque capitals of Vienne Cathedral have a common goal - the glorification of Christ Resurrected. Moreover, the monsters and demons which adorn nine of the capitals might also serve as warnings to the faithful, cautioning them against practices which would lead away from salvation.<sup>22</sup> It is my belief that the embellishment of the Romanesque church should be understood as a coherent whole. This coherence stems from two motives; on the one hand, to inscribe in stone – literally petrify – the liturgical and paraliturgical rites of the cathedral, and, on the other hand, to serve as a reminder of the origins of the Church of Vienne.

## LITURGICAL FOCI

### The northern side aisle

In the twelfth century, the liturgical space of the cathedral of Vienne was organised around four main areas: the Holy Sepulchre, and the three principal entrances to the church (Fig. 1 (I, a, b, c)).

In the thirteenth century, the choir screen served as a fifth area.

Nowadays, one may access the cathedral from three sides: from the west by three portals which were completed in the sixteenth century; from the north and the south by doors which, in their current state, must be attributed to Jean de Bernin. In the twelfth-century church, the presence of the Holy Sepulchre against the façade hindered circulation from the west. In the thirteenth century, although Jean de Bernin's project certainly included a large western entrance, the *Liber Ordinarius* only singles out the north nave porch. Indeed, it is written that numerous processions, passing through the north porch, linked the cathedral to the cloisters, the canonical buildings, the chapels and the archbishop's palace. All these buildings belong to the project planned and implemented by Jean de Bernin. In spite of their destruction in 1804, eighteenth-century maps allow for their reconstitution.

Thus, we learn that the chapter-house opened on to the west walk of the cloister. In the north-eastern angle, a door led towards the archbishop's palace (Fig. 1 (b)). Off the east walk of the cloister were three chapels, dedicated to the Virgin (Fig 1 (II)), John the Baptist (Fig. 1 (III)), and the Holy Maccabees and to St Maurice (Fig. 1 (IV)) respectively. The chapel of John the Baptist housed the cathedral fonts and was used for baptisms. These three chapels replaced earlier sanctuaries which were taken down during the enlargement and reorganisation of the cathedral, namely the early church of the Virgin and baptistery of St John, both of which dated back to the 4th century, and the chapel of St Maurice, built in the 8th century to host the relics of the saint. The chapel of St Maurice was located in front of the cathedral's north entrance, known as 'the door of Paradise' in the early 11th century and still called this in the 13th-century *Liber Ordinarius* (Fig. 1 (a)). In the 19th century, the alley that runs along the north flank of the cathedral was called the 'alley of paradise'.<sup>23</sup> One significant change was made. During the reconstruction of the chapel of St. Maurice, on the east side of the cloister, the relics were divided between the new chapel altar and the cathedral high altar of the cathedral, excepting for his jaw, which was set in a reliquary commissioned by Jean de Bernin. This reliquary was subsequently carried in procession on Holy Thursday, the day of the feast of the Revelation implemented by Jean de Bernin.<sup>24</sup>

The 13th-century rearrangements also called for the destruction of the tombs and mausolea which occupied the northern part of the cathedral, probably originally grouped around the relics of St Maurice, near the Door of Paradise.<sup>25</sup> However, Jean de Bernin was careful to preserve the tombs of two Burgundian queens; Mathilda (died 982), wife of the Burgundian king, Conrad III, whose tomb was placed in the entrance of the lady chapel (Fig. 1 (II)); and Ermengarde (died 1057), wife of Rodolphe III, whose tomb was placed in front of the door to the chapel of St. John (Fig. 1 (III)).

The walls against which the tombs were placed were covered with paintings representing the two women, crowned and holding sceptres,<sup>26</sup> as well as inscriptions relating the date of their death and the donations they had made to the church of Vienne.<sup>27</sup> On the wall of the chapel of St. Maurice, King Rodolphe III, husband of Ermengarde, was represented (Fig. 1 (IV)). All three tombs were the object of devotions that were still attested in the 16th century.<sup>28</sup>

Before the building works of the 13th century, the grave of Boso (died 887), the first king of Burgundy, was also located in the northern part of the cathedral, close to the tombs of the two queens and to the Paradise door. It was there that Louis the Blind, Boso's son, had his own tomb built, intending to make the cathedral the necropolis of the kings of Burgundy. Wishing to associate their royal authority with St Maurice, Boso and his successors encouraged his cult. They offered the cathedral a luxurious reliquary-bust,<sup>29</sup> and contributed to the change in the dedication of the cathedral, which was placed under the patronage of St Maurice at the end of the 9th century<sup>30</sup>.

At the beginning of the 13th century, the enlargement of the cathedral and the construction of the new cloister required the destruction of Boso's mausoleum. Nevertheless, Jean de Bernin was careful to keep the royal remains, which he deposited within the cathedral, in the fifth chapel of the northern side aisle (Fig. 1 (V)). This probably corresponded to the original site of Boso's tomb, near the chapel of St. Maurice and the door of Paradise. The old epitaph from Boso's tomb was transcribed onto a new marble slab, which was inserted in the western wall of the chapel.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, Jean de Bernin took great care to preserve the memory of the kings of Burgundy, who had been prestigious benefactors to the cathedral of Vienne. At the same time, he provided the cathedral with a single dedication to St Maurice, which between the 10th and 12th centuries tended to be overshadowed by dedication to the Saviour. The patronage of the Saviour ceased to be mentioned following the consecration of 1251. By commissioning the new reliquary-bust and by establishing the feast of the Revelation, Jean de Bernin aimed to promote the cult of Maurice, following the example of his predecessors, the kings of Burgundy.

### **Around the tomb of Boso: A royal presence apparent in the décor**

Amid the twelfth-century décor of the cathedral which Jean de Bernin took care to preserve, the capitals situated near the tomb of Boso served as manifestations of the royal presence. On the fifth pier of the nave arcade, located between the tomb of Boso and the Paradise door, two capitals are devoted to King David. That to the north shows the combat with Goliath and victory against the Philistines (Fig. 1 (17)). That to the west shows King David playing the lute (Fig. 1 (18)).

David was considered a model for princes from Carolingian times. The royal virtues of justice and equity made medieval kings comparable to David, and by assimilation presented them as agents for the defence of the Church and of Christendom. In the third quarter of the 11th century, the entourage of Gregory VII compared the royal struggle against the infidels of Spain and the Holy Land to the struggle of David against the Philistines.<sup>32</sup> On the side of the princes, identification with King David was also encouraged, and conveyed by figurative representation. Thus, in the early 12th century at Saint-Bertin, the choir mosaic associated King David with William, late son of the Count of Flanders, in a composition aimed at legitimising the count's authority.<sup>33</sup> At Saint-Aubin in Angers, the chapter-house entrance features David fighting Goliath, next to an armed man fighting a monster. David's presence could be explained by the function of the chapter house, which was also destined to receive lay people for rituals of donation or restitution of goods belonging to the abbey.<sup>34</sup>

In Vienne, Samson fighting a lion appears next to David, on the north face of the sixth pillar (Fig. 21). Together, these two subjects provide a frame for Boso's grave and signal its presence. The combat between Samson and the lion was often represented on church portals. At Saint-Aubin of Angers, the two capitals on the left side of the entrance of the chapter house represent two episodes in the life of Samson. His fight against the lion and the cutting of his hair by the Philistines after his capture. At Saint-Aubin it can be found also at the entrance of the refectory, where it appears twice. At the Mas-d'Agenais, Samson is associated with David at the entrance of the church and, at Moissac, Samson appears on the left pillar of the door which opens towards the nave of the abbey church.

For specialists in the Gregorian reform, particularly in Italy, choosing to insert Samson and the lion into the facade of a church symbolises the submission of temporal power to the Church.<sup>35</sup> They borrow this interpretation from the well-known commentary of Isidore of Seville, according to which the defeated lion is like the kings who, after opposing Christ, employ themselves to spread the Word of God.<sup>36</sup> In certain cases, however, especially in spaces where the aim was to arouse the generosity of the laity, or to glorify princely authority, Samson and the Lion conveys one of the functions of lay power, namely the struggle for Christendom.

Further east in the cathedral of Vienne, Solomon is represented making his judgement (Fig. 1 (4)). Here he is the model of the good king, wise and fair, as opposed to Herod, the 'tyrant king', represented opposite, in the south aisle (Fig. 1 (2'))<sup>37</sup>. The connection between Solomon and Herod is all the more obvious in that both capitals are the work of the same sculptor. The fighting knights on the north face of the third pillar could be a reference to the 'just' war of the Christians against the

Infidels, a prominent theme as the rebuilding of the cathedral took place at the time of the crusades (Fig. 1 (9)). In opposition to this 'holy war' is the unjust war, represented on the next pillar by fighting demons (Fig. 1 (13)).

### **Penitential iconography**

In the north aisle, there is a fourth Old Testament episode. To the left of the Paradise door, Daniel is rescued by Habakkuk from the lion's den (Fig. 1 (15)). In a similar way to Samson and the lion, this episode of the life of Daniel is often integrated into church entrances. For example, it appears at the entrance to the south apse at the monastic church of Saint-Ferme (Gironde), where the capital faces David, as well as on the west portal of Jaca. The most monumental example of a representation of Daniel in the lion's den at the entrance to a church remains, however, the porch of Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne.

In the Middle Ages, the primary meaning attached to Daniel in the lion's den is penitential. Indeed, as we have been reminded by John Chrysostom, it is through his fasting that Daniel was spared by the lions.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, as Serafin Moralejo pointed out, the prayer addressed by Daniel to God asking for the forgiveness of his sins is the prayer pronounced by the penitent during the ceremony of reconciliation. This is why Daniel was invoked at Jaca, as part of a setting for the penitential liturgy which took place, at Easter, in front of the cathedral porch.<sup>39</sup>

To penitents seeking salvation, the Church offered various possibilities for redemption - though pilgrimage and holy war, as well as fasting and charity. The fighting knights near the entrance and Daniel point to attitudes of repentance. As for charity, this adorns the northern face of the eighth pillar, significantly placed by the entrance of the Romanesque cathedral (Fig. 1 (29)).

The Expulsion of Adam and Eve appears on the third pier, near the north door facing Daniel (Fig. 1 (10), Fig. 2). As with Samson and Daniel, the motif of Adam and Eve is frequently associated with church entrances: among the most famous examples, we may count the north porch of Santiago de Compostela, the *Porta Francigena* which the pilgrims accessed through the square of Paradise<sup>40</sup>, the Porte Miègeville at Saint-Sernin, Toulouse, and the lateral porch of Saint-Lazare at Autun. The presence of Adam and Eve at the doorstep of churches ought to be linked with the penitential liturgy.

According to the mid-10th-century Romano-Germanic Pontifical, which by *c.* 1000 had become the norm in every cathedral north of the Alps, public rites of penance stipulate that on Ash Wednesday, the first day of Lent, penitents should present themselves at the cathedral door.



Received by the bishop, they are then chased out of the church, and this symbolic exclusion from the community of brethren was a reference to the chasing of Adam and Eve out of earthly Paradise.<sup>41</sup> The readmission of penitents was effective on Holy Thursday, thanks to the ceremony of Reconciliation.

The Vienne Ordinary testifies to this ritual taking place inside the cathedral on Ash Wednesday. After the ninth hour, the clergy gathered in the choir would receive the ashes before returning to the nave. The archbishop would then prostrate himself *ante lectricem*, probably meaning in front of the rood screen. By the 13th century at Vienne Cathedral a rood screen separated the choir from the nave (Fig. 1 (VI)). The penitents were led inside the church, but then chased out of the church by the archbishop, who would shut the door (*januas*) three times behind them. The ceremony was followed by a procession to the three chapels in the cloister.<sup>42</sup> On Holy Thursday, after the ninth hour, the archbishop descended to the doors (*ad januas*) where he joined the penitents and pronounced a sermon. Then the archbishop would recite the *Venite filii* three times and introduce the penitents. Prostrating themselves with the archbishop in front of the rood screen, they would pronounce the seven penitential psalms (except the *Gloria Patri*) before receiving absolution.<sup>43</sup>

The Ordinary does not indicate the door from which the penitents were expelled, nor through which they were readmitted. Their expulsion was probably done by the small north door (*porta paradisi*), as the ceremony continued with a procession to the three chapels in the cloister. It is in the vicinity of this door that we find the capital showing God chasing Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. It is possible that the penitents were readmitted from the west, proceeding through the nave towards the rood screen. On the first western pillar of the nave, Christ is represented freeing the Righteous from limbo (Fig 1 (28'), Fig. 3). At the head of the procession, Christ appears, catching Adam's arm in the same manner as he did when he chased Adam out of Eden. Significantly, the readmission of the Righteous to Paradise is placed opposite Charity (Fig. 1 (29)): indeed, it is the practice of this virtue which guaranteed access to salvation.

### **The southern side aisle**

In the south aisle of the cathedral, the 'ornamental' capitals are more numerous than is the case in the north aisle: out of thirty sculpted capitals, twenty-two are decorated with foliage and rinceaux, sometimes associated with masks. However, we may note a concentration of the historiated capitals around the south entrance, directly opposite the Paradise door. (Fig. 1 (c)). Described as the 'porta

nova' in 1257, the south portal opened on to the cemetery for the poor and the laity, a burial ground which was consecrated by Pope Pascal II in 1107.<sup>44</sup> In the 13th century, a covered gallery ran along the south wall of the nave, where lords paid homage to the chapter and to the archbishop.<sup>45</sup>

Near the door, two scenes are found which are frequently associated with church entrances: Lust, on the west side of the fourth pier (14'), and the Sacrifice of Isaac, on the west pier of the doorway itself (19'). Lust features on the left embrasures of the porches at Moissac and Beaulieu, for example, and on the Porte des Comtes at Saint-Sernin, Toulouse. The Sacrifice of Isaac appears as often at the entrance to churches as at the entrance to the sanctuary. It can be seen, for example, on the portal of Saint-Michel at Lescure (Tarn), next to Adam and Eve, or on the triumphal arch preceding the choir of the church of Mazères (Ariège). The Sacrifice of Isaac was understood as a prefiguration of the God's Sacrifice of his Son, and thus of the Eucharist. This would explain its presence around altars or at the entrances to churches - places for the celebration of the eucharist<sup>46</sup>.

In the cathedral of Vienne, the scene of the Repentant Sinner anointing the feet of Christ (Luke 7<sup>36-50</sup>) faces Isaac (Fig. 1 (18')). In addition to its function as a prefiguration of the Last Supper and of the Eucharist, it also conveys a strong penitential meaning. This would explain its proximity to the entrance to the church, but with Lust on the adjacent pier (Fig. 1 (14')).

Three other episodes of the life of Christ are brought together on the easternmost three piers of the south aisle: the Magi before Herod (Fig. 1 (2')), the Resurrection of Lazarus (Fig. 1, (8')) and the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. I (9')). It is possible that this selection of scenes and positioning was dictated by the performance of liturgical dramas in the cathedral.

### **The capitals of the south aisle: a backdrop for liturgical drama?**

The capitals of the Adoration of the Magi and the Magi before Herod are, together with the Judgement of Solomon (Fig. 1 (4)), all by the same sculptural workshop. In a significant way, the organization of the scenes in the south aisle is identical, allowing for face-to-face confrontation between the main protagonists<sup>47</sup>. The figures are in a dialectic of opposition: to Herod, the bad king, is opposed the model of the magi-kings demonstrating, by their gifts, their adherence to the divine will and their submission to the Church.

In the 13th century, these two scenes were reproduced in larger format on two slabs of stone now integrated in the north and south walls of the nave (Fig. 4). According to the Vienne Ordinary, during the Sunday ceremony for the blessing of altars with holy water, the procession would halt in front of an image of the Virgin in the nave and sing the *Salve Regina*.<sup>48</sup> Nicolas Charvet suggests

that this image was in the nave.<sup>49</sup> It probably accompanied the Adoration of the Magi and the Magi before Herod on the rood screen separating the area for the lay people from the canons' choir in the time of Jean de Bernin.<sup>50</sup>

Still according to the Vienne Ordinary, at Epiphany and on the preceding day, there was a reading of the Gospels from the tribune of the rood screen, followed by the Offertory. The canons would then sing the *Reges Tharsis*, characteristic of the 11th century. In the study of liturgical dramas, Karl Young reminds us that this song accompanied the clergy while they brought their offerings to the altar, in the guise of the Magi offering their gifts to the infant Jesus.<sup>51</sup> Although the Vienne Ordinary does not explicitly state that liturgical plays took place within the cathedral, the settings reconstructed here correspond to indications given by the 14th-century Rouen Missal; that after the third hour, three clerks dressed as kings would enter the choir from three opposite directions and meet at the high altar in the choir. Guided by the star, they proceeded west, in the direction of the nave. Stepping into the nave, they would halt in front of the star, situated above the altar of the Holy Cross. This altar supported a Virgin with Child, to which the three kings would present their offerings, followed by the other members of the clergy.<sup>52</sup> In Vienne, as in Rouen, the Virgin with Child was probably represented on the rood screen. At its centre stood the altar of the Cross, serving as the parish altar. At Rouen, and maybe at Vienne, the drama of the Adoration of the Magi was then followed by the encounter between the Magi and King Herod.

At Vienne as elsewhere, the Resurrection of Lazarus was celebrated on the 17 December<sup>53</sup>. At 13th-century Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, for example, the liturgical play associated this episode with that of the Repentant Sinner anointing Christ's feet during the Meal with Simon of Bethany. In Vienne, the first biblical scene appears in the south aisle (Fig. 1 (18')). This choice of theme appears all the more significant in that historiated capitals are quite rare in this part of the building, amounting to no more than six out of the thirty capitals in the south aisle. Karl Young postulates that in certain churches, the Holy Sepulchre could represent the tomb of Bethany.<sup>54</sup> In much the same way the tomb of Lazarus at Autun could serve as a backdrop for the Easter play of the *quem quaeritis*.<sup>55</sup>

The ceremonies which took place in Vienne cathedral are only briefly described in the Ordinary, which does not formally detail the sequence of liturgical plays. According to the Ordinary, the cathedral was mostly devoted to liturgical celebration, made particularly sumptuous by the large number of canons, the luxury of their clothing and the ornaments they carried, as well as by the daily processions which took place in the church and adjacent buildings. The interior

space could nevertheless serve for extra-liturgical events. Indeed, it appears that in the time of Jean de Bernin, the Feast of the Innocents gave way to boisterous farcical plays by lay people and clerks, which were forbidden by legislation in 1249.<sup>56</sup> The performance of liturgical plays, aimed at enhancing the splendour of the cathedral and attracting the faithful, corresponded perfectly with Jean de Bernin's strategy for his church. By integrating the royal tombs, by preserving the liturgical memory of the earlier cathedral in its spatial arrangements, by respecting the 12th-century iconographical programme, and by staying true to Carolingian rituals, the archbishop expressed his determination to preserve the traditions of his church. Building on past contributions, Jean de Bernin enhanced the ecclesiastical space through the addition of a rich décor and lavish ceremonies, as well as, in all likelihood, through the performance of elaborate liturgical plays.

<sup>1</sup> F. Salet, 'L'ancienne cathédrale Saint-Maurice de Vienne', *CA* 130, 'Dauphiné' (1972-74), 508-53, here 535.

<sup>2</sup> 'etiam capellam sancti Mauricii a fundamentis quae dicitur in Paradiso'. N. Nimmegeers, 'Saint Maurice et l'Eglise de Vienne', in *Politique, société et construction identitaire: autour de Saint Maurice*, ed. N. Brocard, F. Vannotti and A. Wagner (Ornovasso 2012), 379-96.

<sup>3</sup> U. Chevalier, *Etude historique sur la constitution de l'Eglise métropolitaine et primatiale de Vienne en Dauphiné (origines-1500)*, vol. I (Vienne 1922).

<sup>4</sup> Salet, 'L'ancienne cathédrale' (as n. 1), 510-11.

<sup>5</sup> Nimmegeers, 'Saint-Maurice' (as n. 2).

<sup>6</sup> Epitaph of Guillaume de Cuvrière, who died on 31 July 1215. A. de Terrebase, *Inscriptions antiques et du Moyen Âge de Vienne en Dauphiné*, vol. II (Vienne 1875), 293.

<sup>7</sup> As is recorded in the epitaph of Jean de Bernin, Archbishop of Vienne: '(Jean de Bernin) who ordered the building... of the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, the cemetery of which he dedicated to the burial of the poor who died in the said God's House of Vienne'. *Ibid.*, 365.

<sup>8</sup> 'Ante cuius etiam ostiolum, altare ex lapidibus concavum ad nomen Mariae peccatricis, Petri quoque negatoris, Latronisque confessoris solenniter consecravit': *Vita* of Adon, found in the Vienne Breviary published in 1522. See PL 123, 9B-10C. N. Nimmegeers, 'Une œuvre méconnue de la renaissance carolingienne: le Saint-Sépulcre d'Adon de Vienne (Isère)', *Hortus artium medievalium*, 16 (2010), 39-48.

<sup>9</sup> On Easter Day, the Ordinary calls for the archbishop to kiss the Sepulchre and its altars: 'Dum classis matutinarum pulsatur, ceroferarii mittuntur ad archiepiscopum, qui veniens indutus capa seriaca alba ante sepulchrum, dicat *Confiteor*. Deinde intrans, facta oratione, sepulchrum osculetur et altaria.' U. Chevalier ed., *Ordinaire de l'Eglise cathédrale de Vienne (XIIIe siècle)*, publié d'après le *Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Grenoble* (Paris 1923), 46. On the feast of Mary Magdalen, Mass was said after Matins at the altar of the Sepulchre, decorated with two candelabra for the occasion: 'Statio ad Sepulchrum. Omnia signa pulsantur. Candelabra duo super altare et duo ante ostium Sepulcri. (...) Post matutinas missa ad Sepulchrum.' *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>10</sup> N. Chorier, *Recherches sur les antiquités de la ville de Vienne* (Lyon 1658), 227-28: ‘ Les reliques de quelques saints, qui y avaient été liées avant ce changement (le déplacement dans le cloître) y furent remises dans une cave, qui de même y fut faite, afin que rien ne lui manquât de ce qu’elle avait eu dès sa première construction.’ ‘The relics of several saints, which had been linked to it before this alteration (their removal to the cloister) were repositioned back there in a cave, which was made so that nothing might be missing from what had been there in the original construction’.

<sup>11</sup> Nimmegeers, ‘Une œuvre méconnue’ (as n. 8).

<sup>12</sup> According to the archaeological surveys of 1860-61. J. Vallery-Radot, ‘L’ancienne cathédrale Saint-Maurice de Vienne. Des origines à la consécration de 1251’, *Bull. Mon.*, 110 (1952), 297-362.

<sup>13</sup> *Ordinaire de l’Eglise cathédrale de Vienne* (as n. 9), XVI: composition of the servants of the church of Vienne.

<sup>14</sup> R. Weinberger, ‘St. Maurice and St. André-le-Bas at Vienne: Dynamics of artistic exchange in two Romanesque Workshops’, *Gesta*, 23 (1984), 75-86.

<sup>15</sup> Vallery-Radot, ‘L’ancienne cathédrale’ (as n. 12); R. Weinberger, ‘Resurrection and Celestial Jerusalem : The Influence of the Easter Liturgy on the Nave Decoration of St. Maurice at Vienne’, *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 4 (1983), 1-16; C. Berne, ‘L’Anastasis et le Christ Sauveur à la cathédrale Saint-Maurice de Vienne: le programme iconographique des chapiteaux romans’, *Bulletin de la société des amis de Vienne*, 92/ii (1997), 2-38.

<sup>16</sup> *Ordinaire de l’Eglise cathédrale de Vienne* (as n. 9), 111.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 2: ‘Missam matutinalem debet cappellanus Sancte Crucis omnibus diebus dominicis et festivis apostolorum, et in Apparitione Domini et in Pascha ad sepulchrum... ‘

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 46-7.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 48. The cantors, facing the Sepulchre and the choir, would ask: “Quem queritis?”. Two canons would answer “Jhesum Nazarenum”, then another would sing “Non est hic, surrexit”. And the canons “Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus”.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 64-5.

<sup>21</sup> Berne, ‘L’Anastasis’ (as n. 15), 10-13.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 14-18.

<sup>23</sup> T. C. Delorme, *Description du musée de Vienne (Isère): précédée de recherches historiques sur le temple d’Auguste et Livie* (Vienne 1841), 235.

<sup>24</sup> Epitaph of Jean de Bernin: ‘Who has raised in person the body of his patron, the glorious martyr Mauritius, in the very place where his corpse is resting, from whence he has brought back his chin; and this very chin [he] deposited in a precious vessel, he has given it to his Church with pontifical ornaments (...). Who has decreed that the feast of the Revelation of the said martyrs, Saint Mauritius and his companions, would be solemnly celebrated in the said church (...) De Terrebase, *Inscriptions antiques* (as n. 6), 365-69. See also C. Charvet, *Histoire de la sainte église de Vienne* (Lyon 1761), 400-01.

<sup>25</sup> The finding of fragments of Gallo-Roman sarcophagi in ‘paradise alley’ testifies to the presence of rich graves. E. Chatel, *Recueil général des monuments sculptés en France pendant le haut Moyen Âge (IVe-Xe s.)*, ii, *Isère, Savoie, Haute-Savoie* (Mémoires de la section d’archéologie, II, 2, Paris 1981), 63-66, n. 107, 108, 109. The fragment no. 109 presents the episode of the healing of the paralytic at the Pool of Bethesda.

<sup>26</sup> The paintings seem to date from the 13th century. Charvet, *Histoire de la sainte église* (as n. 24), 372 ; De Terrebase, *Inscriptions antiques* (as n. 6), 161-67.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. In the 16th century, the nuns of St. André-le-Haut still went in procession to visit her tomb and pray for her in front of the painting representing her image. Epitaph of Queen Matilda: ‘V. Kl Decembris, obiit Matildis uxor regis Conradi, qui obiit XIV. Kl. Novembris et dedit ... coronam lampadarum totam argenteam ante Domini Sepulcrum.’ Ermengarde gave the earldom of Vienne to the Church of Vienne.

<sup>28</sup> Chevalier, *Etude historique* (as n. 3), 94.

<sup>29</sup> Although the rich reliquary of gold and gems disappeared in 1625, it was described by Peiresc in 1612. E. Chatel, *Recueil general* (as n. 25), 101-03. Around 936-38, Hugues, the great-grandson of Boso, commissioned a crown for the reliquary bust offered by Boso.

<sup>30</sup> L. Grimaldi, ‘L’Eglise de Vienne d’Adon à Léger (VIIIe-XIe siècles). Un pays en mutation’ (unpublished doctoral thesis (DEA), University of Lyon, III 1996), 84-95. Nimmegeers, ‘Saint-Maurice’ (as n. 2).

<sup>31</sup> De Terrebase, *Inscriptions antiques* (as n. 6), 129-32, 141-46.

<sup>32</sup> A. Graboïs, ‘Un mythe fondamental de l’histoire de France au Moyen Âge: le roi ‘David’ précurseur du ‘roi très chrétien’, *Revue historique*, 287 (1992), 11-31. Y. Sassier, *Royauté et idéologie au Moyen Âge: Bas-Empire, monde franc, France (IVe – XIIe siècles)* (Paris 2012).

<sup>33</sup> See my forthcoming article: B. Franzé, ‘Das Grabmosaik der Abtei von Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer (1109) : der Ausdruck der gräflichen Autorität zur Zeit der gregorischen Reform’, in *Grab, Erinnerung, Grab. Repräsentationskonzepte in der christlichen und islamischen Kunst der Vormoderne / Tomb, Memory, Space. Concepts of Representation in Premodern Christian and Islamic Art*.

<sup>34</sup> E. Palazzo, ‘Exégèse, liturgie et politique dans l’iconographie du cloître de Saint-Aubin d’Angers’, in *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang*, ed. P. Klein (Regensburg 2004), 220-40. Palazzo quotes a passage from a version of the *Gesta consulum Andegavorum* written between 1124 and 1137 which compares a legendary fight between Geoffroy Grisegonelle and the Giant Haustuin to the fight between David and Goliath. Ibid., p. 239. J. McNeill, « The East Cloister Walk of Saint-Aubin at Angers: Sculpture and Archaeology », in *Anjou: Medieval ART, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. J. McNeill, D. Prigent (Oxford 2006), 111-137.

<sup>35</sup> C. Tosco, ‘Sansone vittorioso sul portale di Nonantola : ricerche sulle funzioni dell’iconografia medievale’, *Arte cristiana*, 80 (1992), 3-8. This interpretation is adopted by A. Tcherikover, ‘Reflections of the Investiture Controversy at Nonantola and Modena’, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 60 (1997), 150-165, and idem, ‘Riders and the Art of the Gregorian Reform’, *Art History*, 13 (1990), 438-42.

- <sup>36</sup> Isidore of Seville, *In librum Judicum*, c. 8, *De Samson*, c. 5, PL 83, 389D-390A : ‘Quid sibi vult ex ore leonis occisi favus extractus, nisi quia, ut conspicimus, reges ipsi regni terreni, qui adversus Christum ante fremuerunt, nunc jam, perempta feritate, dulcedini evangelicae praedicandae etiam munimenta praebent?’
- <sup>37</sup> According to an Augustinian dialectic which opposes the ‘rex justus’ to the ‘rex tyrannus’. This dialectic opposition seems to have played a role in the iconography of the church of Lambach. N. Wibiral, ‘Appunti sull’iconologia delle pitture murali nella chiesa del monastero di Lambach’, in *Il Romanico. Atti del Seminario di studio diretto da Piero Sanpaolesi* (Milan 1975), 91-144, esp. 106.
- <sup>38</sup> John Chrysostom, *Homélies sur la pénitence*, V, 4, ed. M. Jeannin, vol. II (Bar-le-Duc 1864), 301.
- <sup>39</sup> S. Moralejo Alvarez, ‘La sculpture romane de la cathédrale de Jaca. Etat des questions’, *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxà*, 10 (1979), 79-114, esp. 96. S. Havens Caldwell, ‘Penance, Baptism, Apocalypse: The Easter context of Jaca Cathedral’s west tympanum’, *Art History*, 3 (1980), 25-40.
- <sup>40</sup> Manuel Castiñeiras, ‘The Topography of Images in Santiago Cathedral : Monks, Pilgrims, Bishops, and the Road to Paradise’, in *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia, A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, ed. J. D’Emilio (Leiden 2015), 631-94.
- <sup>41</sup> C. Vogel, ‘Les rites de la penitence publique aux Xe et XIe siècles’, in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet à l’occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire*, ed. P. Gallais and Y.-H. Riou, vol. I (Poitiers 1966), 137-44.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ordinaire de l’Eglise cathédrale de Vienne* (as n. 9), 24-25.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.
- <sup>44</sup> Chevalier, *Etude historique* (as n. 3), 89-90.
- <sup>45</sup> This is recorded in 1257, 1269 and 1274. *Ibid.*, 91, n. 1.
- <sup>46</sup> M. Angheben, ‘Sculpture romane et liturgique’, in *Art medieval. Les voies de l’espace liturgique*, ed. P. Piva (Paris 2010), 131-80, esp. 148.
- <sup>47</sup> Thanks to this, Herod is facing South while the Virgin faces East.
- <sup>48</sup> *Ordinaire de l’Eglise cathédrale de Vienne* (as n. 9), 2-3.
- <sup>49</sup> Charvet, *Histoire de la sainte église* (as n. 24), 396: ‘Anciennement on chantoit l’antienne Salve regina dans la nef, devant l’image de Notre-Dame, *Ante imaginem Sanctae Mariae in navi*. On ne sçait plus où étoit cette image’. ‘In the old days one used to sing the antiphon Salve regina in the nave, before the image of Our Lady, *Ante imaginem Sanctae Mariae in navi*. One no longer knows where this image was’.
- <sup>50</sup> Destroyed during the Reformation, it was rebuilt but then disappeared again at the Revolution. L. Bégule, *L’église Saint-Maurice, ancienne cathédrale de Vienne* (Paris 1914), 105. Salet, ‘L’ancienne cathédrale’ (as n. 1), 552, n. 1.
- <sup>51</sup> A similar practice is attested in Limoges. K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, vol. II (Oxford 1962), 30-37.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 43-44.

<sup>53</sup> *Ordinaire de l'Église cathédrale de Vienne* (as n. 9), 34.

<sup>54</sup> Young, *Medieval Church Drama* (as n. 53), 199-219.

<sup>55</sup> Regarding the relationship between décor and liturgical drama at Autun, see my forthcoming article: B. Franzé, 'Le transept aux laïcs: Saint-Sernin de Toulouse et Saint-Lazare d'Autun', in *Le transept et ses espaces élevés dans l'église du Moyen Âge central: pour une approche fonctionnelle (architecture, décor, liturgie et son)*, ed. B. Franzé and N. Le Luel.

<sup>56</sup> U. Chevalier, 'Jean de Bernin, archevêque de Vienne (1218-1266)', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 1 (1910), 15-33, at 22.







